

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00  
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00  
NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-07 TRSE-00  
CU-02 DHA-02 OIC-02 IO-13 /078 W  
-----012501 112306Z /61

O R 112120Z JUL 77  
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1448  
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L BELGRADE 4645

FOR EUR/RPM, EUR/SOV

FROM USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: CSCE  
SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE MEETING: US-USSR BILATERAL

REF: BELGRADE 4398

1. IN RESPONSE TO SOVIET HINTS THAT A BILATERAL MEETING  
WOULD BE USEFUL, WE HOSTED ON JULY 11 A RETURN LUNCHEON  
WITH THE SAME PARTICIPANTS (SHERER, MARESCA, CORIDEN,  
VORONTSOV, KONDRASHOV, KUTOVOI) WHO TOOK PART IN THE PREVIOUS  
ONE. DURING THE MORNING PLENARY VORONTSOV HAD GIVEN A  
DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE SOVIET CONCEPT OF THE ORGANIZATION  
OF THE CONFERENCE (SEPTEL), ADDING THAT THE NNA JULY 7  
COMPROMISE NON-PAPER (BELGRADE 4597) WAS A GOOD VEHICLE FOR  
NEGOTIATIONS. USING THAT AS AN OPENER, WE PROBED SOVIET  
CONCEPT OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE MAIN MEETING. IN GENERAL THEY  
PROFESSED TO BELIEVE THAT WE CAN FINISH WORK HERE BY ABOUT JULY 20.  
THEY MAINTAINED THAT THEY WILL NEED ABOUT ONE WEEK FOR MOSCOW  
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CLEARANCE AFTER THE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT OF THE PREPARA-  
TORY MEETING HAS BEEN AGREED IN BELGRADE.

2. SOVIET VIEWS ON CURRENT ISSUES FOLLOW:

A. DURATION -- SOVIETS SAID THAT THEIR VERY FIRM POSIT-  
TION IS THAT THEY MUST HAVE A DEFINITE TERMINATION DATE

NO LATER THAN DECEMBER 31, 1977. THEY PROFESSED TO BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT THEY MIGHT PERSUADE MOSCOW TO ACCEPT A FIRM TERMINATION DATE IN EARLY 1978.

COMMENT: THE GLIB ASSURANCE OF THIS CLAIM SUGGESTED THAT THEY ALREADY HAD AUTHORIZATION TO ACCEPT SUCH A DATE, BUT A FIRM TERMINAL DATE CLEARLY REMAINS THEIR MAJOR DEMAND. ONE CAN ONLY SPECULATE WHETHER LESS THAN A GUILLOTINE IS ACCEPTABLE TO THEM BUT THEY CLAIM THEY WILL SIT IN BELGRADE FOR MONTHS IF NEED BE IN ORDER TO GET A FIRM CLOSING DATE. WE URGED THEM TO BEGIN DISCUSSION OF DURATION IN THE OPEN MEETINGS SO THAT ALL MIGHT ASSESS THE PROBLEM THE CONFERENCE FACES. THEY SEEMED TO AGREE THAT THIS WAS NECESSARY SOON. END COMMENT.

B. ORGANIZATION -- WHILE VORONTSOV'S FORMAL PRESENTATION GAVE WORKING BODIES A MINOR, AMORPHOUS ROLE WITH NO DRAFTING ASSIGNMENT, HE TOLD US THAT THEY CONCEIVE THE WORKING BODIES' ROLE TO INCLUDE DRAFTING LANGUAGE TO BE SUBMITTED TO THE PLENARY FOR INCLUSION IN THE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT, AND NEGOTIATING NEW PROPOSALS WHICH ARE CLEARLY WITHIN THEIR PURVIEW. ADDITIONAL WORKING BODIES WOULD BE ESTABLISHED ONLY TO DEAL WITH NEW PROPOSALS OF AN EXCEPTIONAL NATURE, WHICH GO BEYOND THE SCOPE OF THE INDIVIDUAL CSCE BASKETS. THEY GAVE NON-FIRST USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS FACETIOUSLY AS AN EXAMPLE OF SUCH CONFIDENTIAL

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EXCEPTIONAL PROPOSALS, BUT CLAIMED THAT THEY THEMSELVES WOULD NOT SUBMIT SUCH PROPOSALS DURING THE MAIN MEETING.

COMMENT: IF THE SOVIETS ARE INDEED WILLING TO HAVE THE WORKING BODIES PLAY A RESPONSIBLE ROLE THIS NARROWS THE GAP BETWEEN EAST AND WEST SOMEWHAT ON THIS ISSUE. END COMMENT. AGAIN WE URGED THEM TO CLARIFY THEIR CONCEPT IN A FORMAL MEETING. THEY STILL RESISTED ESTABLISHING NOW A FIRM STARTING DATE FOR WORKING BODIES OR A WORKING SCHEDULE. THEY LEFT THE IMPRESSION, HOWEVER, THAT THEY HAD SOME FLEXIBILITY HERE AND WERE "ONLY BEING PRACTICAL".

C. AGENDA -- THE ONLY POINTS HERE WERE THEIR INSISTENCE THAT THE NNA NON-PAPER WAS THEIR FINAL POSITION ON SEPARATION OF IMPLEMENTATION AND NEW PROPOSALS AND A SOMEWHAT CONFUSED STATEMENT TO THE EFFECT THAT THE PREPARATORY MEETING SHOULD NOT PREJUDICE THE MAIN MEETINGS DECISION ON THE POSSIBILITY OF A FURTHER BELGRADE-TYPE MEETING.

D. MEDITERRANEAN - THEY ARE OPPOSED TO ANYTHING OTHER

THAN A SINGLE PRESENTATION, IN CLOSED MEETING, BY EACH  
NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATE, BUT DID NOT  
REVEAL THEIR TACTICS OR PARAMETERS IN THIS AREA. MALTA  
AND ITS AIMS ARE THE SPECTER THEY WILL RAISE PRIVATELY  
WITH DELEGATIONS TO RALLY SUPPORT FOR A FIRM TERMINATION  
DATE.

E. DRAFTING OF FINAL DOCUMENT -- ALTHOUGH SOVIET STATE-  
MENTS ON ORGANIZATION HAVE THUS FAR INDICATED THAT THEY  
THOUGHT DRAFTING OF FINAL DOCUMENT SHOULD BE ACCOMPLISHED  
IN PLENARY DURING TWO LAST WEEKS OF THE MAIN MEETING,  
SOVIETS TOLD US THEY FORESAW THIS PERIOD FOR ASSEMBLING  
PARTS OF FINAL DOCUMENT DRAFTED IN WORKING BODIES.

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3. SOVIET MESSAGE WAS UNMISTAKABLY THAT A FIRM TERMI-  
NATION DATE IS A SINE QUA NON AND THAT THEY HAVE SOME  
FLEXIBILITY ELSEWHERE. THE FIRMNESS OF THIS POSITION,  
AND THEIR FLEXIBILITY, WILL BE TESTED IN THE NEXT DAY OR  
TWO.

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## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
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